

Message Text

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PAGE 01 BUCHAR 07166 060943Z

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ACTION EUR-12

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 680

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AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L BUCHAREST 7166

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, EE, UR, RO

SUBJ: CSCW IMPLEMENTATION INITIATIVES

REFS: A) STATE 277230; B) BUCHAREST 6420; C) STATE 276093

1. GENERAL COMMENTS. IN CONTEXT OF U.S. OBJECTIVES, WE BELIEVE THAT PRIORITY SHOULD BE GIVEN TO HOLDING BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS EARLY IN 1977 WITH GOR OVER ENTIRE RANGE OF CSCE ISSUES. WE SEE ADVANTAGE TO HOLDING TALKS IN WASHINGTON TO PROVIDE GOR TEAM, PROBABLY LED BY MFA CSCE EXPERT VALENTIN LIPATTI, MAXIMUM EXPOSURE TO EXECUTIVE BRANCH AND ESPECIALLY TO CONGRESS. GOR HAS SEVERAL TIMES EXPRESSED DESIRE FOR THIS TYPE OF CONSULTATION, MOST RECENTLY IN AMBASSADOR'S
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PAGE 02 BUCHAR 07166 060943Z

DISCUSSIONS WITH FONMIN MACOVESCU IN RELATION TO

ROMANIAN REFUSAL TO RECEIVE CONGRESSIONAL CSCE COMMISSION MEMBERS (BUCHAREST 5363 AND 5147). LIPATTI HAS HELD SERIES OF SUCH CONSULTATIONS WITH OTHER SIGNATORIES OF HELSINKI DOCUMENT, BUT WE SEE REAL ADVANTAGE IF INITIATIVE IS OURS.

2. WE PROPOSE THAT THESE TALKS BE PRECEDED BY PRELIMINARY MORE INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS WITH LIPATTI HERE, FOCUSING ON BOTH SHARED AND DIFFERING U.S.-GOR PERCEPTIONS OF CSCE IMPLEMENTATION AND AREAS OF CONCERN. SUCH A SESSION WOULD BE A CONTINUATION OF TALKS HELD LAST SUMMER (BUCHAREST 3156 AND 1752), AND WOULD BE DESIGNED TO STRESS SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH WE REGARD FULL AND FAIR IMPLEMENTATION OF CSCE AND IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO BELGRADE CONFERENCE.

3. THERE EXIST ALREADY A NUMBER OF QUASI-INSTITUTIONALIZED CHANNELS TO DISCUSS COMMON U.S.-ROMANIAN CONCERNS AND PROBLEMS AS IN THE JOINT ECONOMIC COMMISSION, THE PERIODIC NEGOTIATIONS ON CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAM, THE REGULAR DISCUSSIONS OF CONSULAR PROBLEMS, AND THE FREQUENT VISITS OF PROMINENT OFFICIAL AND PRIVATE AMERICANS. WE HAVE GENERALLY PASSED POLEMICAL STAGE IN U.S.-ROMANIAN RELATIONSHIP, AND WE ARE INCREASINGLY MOVING INTO A PROBLEM-SOLVING RELATIONSHIP IN WHICH PROBLEMS CAN BE DISCUSSED FULLY AND CANDIDLY. OBVIOUSLY, NOT ALL PROBLEMS HAVE BEEN RESOLVED OR ARE LIKELY TO BE, BUT POINT IS WE ARE AT LEAST TALKING ABOUT THEM IN A RELATIVELY SYSTEMATIC MANNER. WHILE GAINS WHICH HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED ARE UNDOUBTEDLY DUE MUCH MORE TO FACTORS IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP (E.G. MFN) THAN TO HELSINKI, NEVERTHELESS MOST OF OUR BILATERAL PROBLEMS AND CONCERNS ALSO FIT WITHIN CSCE CONTEXT. WE NOTE THAT DEPARTMENT ALSO VIEWS ROMANIA IN A SIMILAR CATEGORY TO NEUTRAL EUROPEAN STATES FOR PURPOSES OF CAREFULLY NURTURING BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS (REF C).

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 BUCAR 07166 060943Z

4. WE CONSEQUENTLY BELIEVE THAT OUR INTEREST IN GENUINE IMPLEMENTATION OF CSCE MEASURES BY ROMANIA IS BEST SERVED BY A MORE GENERAL, NON-CONFRONTATIONAL APPROACH. DIFFICULT THOUGH IT MAY BE GIVEN ROMANIAN DEFICIENCIES, WE WANT TO AVOID A "SCORE SHEET" MENTALITY PRIMARILY CONCERNED WITH LISTING THE REAL OR ALLEGED DEFICIENCIES IN PERFORMANCE BY EITHER SIDE. WE ALREADY DETECT SOME TENDENCIES

ON GOR SIDE, PARTICULARLY AT MIDDLE TO LOWER
GVERNMENT LEVELS AND PARTICULARLY ON SUCH CONSULAR
ISSUES AS U.S. VISA ISSUANCE AND TCP PROGRAM, TO
MARSHAL AMMUNITION FOR A POSSIBLE SHOUTING MATCH AT
BELGRADE. ON OTHER HAND, SENIOR LEADERS OF GOR
INCLUDING CEAUSESCU HAVE REPEATEDLY AND PUBLICALLY
STRESSED THEIR P TEREST IN CSCE AND THEIR HOPE THAT
BELGRADE MEETING WITH BE SUCCESSFUL AND CONSTRUCTIVE-
THEY HAVE ALSO CONFIRMED TO US PROVATELY THESE CON-
CERNS, ADDING THAT THEIR HOPE IS THAT BELGRADE WILL
BE A CONTINUATION OF "PROCESS" BEGUN AT HELSINKI
RATHER THAN ITS END. THIS IS OF COURSE CONSISTENT
WITH THEIR EARLIER INTEREST IN FOLLOW-UP AND CAN BE
USED TO OUR ADVANTAGE. AS WE HAVE REPORTED (REF B),
GOR VIEWS CSCW AS USEFUL CONTEXT TO FURTHER MANY OF
ITS NATIONAL GOALS, PARTICULARLY THOSE OF GREATER
INDEPENDENCE OF ACTION FROM SOVIET UNION AND MORE
INTENSIVE ECONOMIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL RELATIONS WITH
THE WEST. WHILE GOR IS DISAPPOINTED WITH CSCW
RESULTS TO DATE, IT CLEARLY HAS NOT ABANDONED HOPE.
THIS SITUATION THEREFORE OFFERS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR
US, BUT TO BE PRODUCTIVE OUR OVERALL APPROACH MUST COMBINE
STRESSING THINGS WE HAVE IN COMMON WITH GOR WHILE NOT
MINIMIZING PROBLEM AREAS.

5. SPECIFIC INITIATIVES. REF B, OUR MOST RECENT
MONITORING REPORT OF GOR IMPLEMENATION OF CSCE,
REPORTS IN DETAIL ROMANIA'S MIXED RECORD ON MANY
TOPICS AND ITS FAILY DISMAL FAILURE ON SOME BASKET
III ITEMS. WE HAVE NO SUGGESTIONS FOR ADDITIONAL
SUBJECTS WHICH SHOULD BE RAISED IN CSCE CONTEXT, BUT
IN DISCUSSIONS WITH ROMANIAN WOULD LAY STRESS ON
RESOLUTION OF PRESENT AGENDA AS PROVIDING THE BEST
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PAGE 04 BUCAR 07166 060943Z

CONTEXT FOR ENSURING THAT BELGRADE NOT BECOME AN END
OF THE PROCESS OUT OF FRUSTRATION. AS NOTED ABOVE,
GOR IS WELL AWARE OF OUR CONCERNS, MOST OF WHICH ARE
CURRENTLY UNDER DISCUSSION. PRINCIPAL PROBLEMS AREAS
CONTINUE TO BE GOR'S SEVERE RESTRICTIONS ON EMIGRATION
AND FOREIGN TRAVEL OF ROMANIAN CITIZENS, HARASSMENT AND
DELAY FOR THOSE WHO DO WISH TO LEAVE, INADEQUATE AND
USUALLY GRUDGING PERFORMANCE ON FAMILY REUNIFICATION
AND MARRIAGE CASES, INADEQUATE PUBLICALLY AVAILABLE
INFORMATION ON ROMANIAN ECONOMY OF TYPE WHICH GOR
PROVIDES PRIVATELY TO IMF/IBRD, AND HIGHLY RE-
STRICTED AVAILABILITY TO PUBLIC OF WESTERN NEWS
MEDIA AND BOOKS. OUR OWN WEAKEST AREAS ARE WHAT
ROMANIANS PERCEIVE TO BE INADEQUATE ATTENTION TO
DISARMAMENT, DISCRIMINATORY TRADE PRACTICES, AND

LACK OF RECIPROCITY ON CULTURAL FRONT.

6. ACTION REQUESTED: WE WOULD PLAN TO SUGGEST AN INFORMAL DISCUSSION WITH LIPATTI IN LATE DECEMBER OR EARLY JANUARY, AND WOULD PREFER TO DO SO IN THE CONTEXT OF ITS BEING PREPARATORY TO HIS TRIP TO WASHINGTON. IF DEPARTMENT CAN AUTHORIZE US TO EXTEND SUCH AN INVITATION, THAT WOULD BE THE BEST CONTEXT FOR OUR INFORMAL REVIEW. IF NOT, WE WOULD SIMPLY SAY IT IS TIME TO HAVE ANOTHER REVIEW WHICH WE "HOPE" WOULD BE FOLLOWED UP FAIRLY SOON IN THE NEW YEAR WITH SOME EXPERT DISCUSSIONS EITHER HERE OR IN WASHINGTON. IN EITHER CONTEXT, WOULD APPRECIATE WASHINGTON SUGGESTIONS AS TO POINTS IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO STRESS HERE, BEARING IN MIND ROMANIAN INTERESTS ON WHICH WE CAN CAPITALIZE AS WELL AS ISSUES WE ARE STRESSING WITH NEUTRALS. GIVEN THE INTEREST WE HAVE EVIDENCED IN THE PAST IN NURTURING RELATIONSHIP WITH ROMANIA ON CSCW, WE VERY MUCH HOPE OUR FIRST ALTERNATIVE OF AN INVITATION TO LIPATTI CAN BE APPROVED.
BARNES

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